

*wish*, Post's coverage lighter, less substantial, much less  
inclusive, that what AP did.

# Papers suggest Nixon tried to embarrass Democrats

WASHINGTON (AP) — When the Pentagon Papers were leaked to the press in 1971, the Nixon administration reacted with fury and sought a Supreme Court order to suppress publication. Privately, however, President Nixon sought to use the explosive disclosures to embarrass the Democrats.

The National Archives released 168,000 pages of Nixon White House documents Wednesday — papers that will provide fodder for historians for years. They showed an administration with a siege mentality in its determination not to become the first to lose a war.

Nixon and his heirs fought for years to keep the papers under seal.

They show the president:

—Ordering a seven-page list of government officials who had defected to Sen. George S. McGovern and rating them on how sympathetic they were to Nixon's 1972 Democratic rival.

—Directing aide John D. Ehrlichman to "implement a theft" at the Brookings Institution, a think tank with a perceived liberal bent, to steal Vietnam documents that the Nixon people believed were stashed there. Nixon believed they would show his predecessor, Lyndon B. Johnson, ordered a bombing halt in Vietnam a few days before the 1968 election in hopes of throwing the election to Nixon's opponent, Hubert H. Humphrey.

—Seeking to retaliate against the press. One memo said, "The

N.Y. Times is finished in the WH (White House)" because of its publication of the Pentagon Papers. Nixon also complained that a Pulitzer-winning Associated Press reporter, Peter Arnett, "has been bad for eight years."

In 1971, Daniel Ellsberg, a Pentagon strategist, turned against the war and leaked to *The New York Times* the massive war history that had been ordered by Robert S. McNamara, defense secretary in the Kennedy and Johnson administrations.

The *Times* started publishing the papers June 13, 1971. The Nixon administration reacted with rage, seeking a court order to bar further publication on the grounds that national security had been breached. But on June 30 the Supreme Court upheld the *Times* and publication resumed.

Two days after the first *Times* story, Nixon, meeting with aides and Republican leaders from Congress, had a much milder reaction.

While he was concerned with security, he said, the papers chiefly revealed the flaws of Democratic direction of the war.

"The president said his posture was that this was a family fight for the Democrats. ... It all took place within a previous administration," wrote aide Patrick J. Buchanan, a participant in the meeting.

The Buchanan memo offered a glimpse of a Republican president strategizing about how to turn the disclosure to his own advantage.

Citing Johnson administration Deputy Defense Secretary Cyrus Vance and Clark Clifford, who was McNamara's successor, the memo quoted Nixon as saying, "They were the people who got you into the mess and they are not the ones likely to get you out of the mess."

Publication of the Pentagon Papers — thousands of top-secret documents — caused a sensation. Their evidence that the U.S. government had deliberately misled the public on the conduct of the war lent impetus to the antiwar movement.

Still, the newly released documents showed Nixon was insistent on a break-in of his own — the Brookings operation, intended to uncover other Johnson administration war thinking.

In a handwritten to-do list dated June 1971, Ehrlichman jotted down Nixon's instructions: "It's at Brookings. Implement a theft."

He believed the Brookings papers would show Johnson acted politically when he ordered the bombing halted. Johnson said his purpose was to get peace negotiations under way in Paris.

In 1972, Nixon was still fuming at the Democrats after his re-election. The Archives files contain a memo to Haldeman from Gen. Alexander Haig, who was Kissinger's deputy, passing on a list requested by Nixon of "individuals who have served the executive in the national security area and who have supported McGovern this year."

# Nixon Papers Portray Fear Of News Plot

*National Archives  
Releases 168,000 Pages*

By **GEORGE LARDNER JR.**  
*Washington Post Staff Writer*

At first blush, it sounds like a memo that could have been addressed to President Clinton by one of his loyal supporters, railing against "the conspiracy of the newspaper people" out to get him and urging "a gloves off" response.

"It hurts me to sit here and see these sons of bitches hit the President and seemingly get away with it," the memo says.

Long withheld on a claim of national security, the document is 26 years old, addressed to President Richard M. Nixon by his ambassador to Great Britain, Walter H. Annenberg, a Philadelphia media magnate angry about the unfavorable publicity Nixon was getting even before the Watergate break-in.

Dictated to Nixon's secretary Rose Mary Woods, the March 30, 1972, note was among some 168,000 pages of previously classified Nixon White House documents made public yesterday by the National Archives. Most of the papers were generated by Nixon's National Security Council, dealing with such issues as the Paris peace talks and the massive Christmastime bombing of North Vietnam. Many others, like the Annenberg memo, had little relation to national security even though they had been kept secret under that rubric.

"This is the largest single release of security classified information by any presidential library or project," said Karl Weissenbach, acting director of the Nixon Presidential Materials Project. He said the documents were being made public under a 1995 Clinton executive order that put more of a burden on the classifying agencies to continue keeping old records secret.

In his memo, Annenberg said the ongoing press criticism of Nixon "turns my stomach" and suggested counterattacking with a supplement that could be sold at newsstands titled "The Conspiracy Against Richard Nixon." He said it was "the kind of thing I could easily print in my rotogravure department—lot of photographs."

"This has to be a gloves off, rough and



BY BRIAN K. DIGGS—ASSOCIATED PRESS

**Janene Ferrara, of the National Archives public affairs office, looks through boxes of documents from the Nixon administration being made public under a 1995 executive order.**

tions of a payoff by the International Telephone and Telegraph Co. in return for favorable settlement of an antitrust case. Life magazine was accusing the administration of tampering with justice, and columnist Jack Anderson was writing about an ITT effort to block Salvador Allende's election as president of Chile.

"Life Magazine is desperate," Annenberg charged. "You have to go after Heiskell and the others. . . . Anderson is really engaging in treasonable activities."

Concerns at The Post about retaliation by the administration increased after the June 17, 1972, break-in at the Watergate headquarters of the Democratic National Committee. On Aug. 9, 1972, in another memo made public yesterday, White House adviser John D. Ehrlichman suggested that Nixon allay Katharine Graham's concerns in that respect, citing a tip from columnist Joseph Alsop.

"Joe Alsop says that Kay Graham's anti-RN attitude is exacerbated by the fact that she believes we are going to lift the TV licenses of some of her stations in the event that we succeed in the election," Ehrlichman told the president. "This is a matter that I would like you to follow up on personally through someone who has access to the top Post people. . . . You can point out that this Administration has an impeccable record over the past 3½ years of never interfering with TV licenses."

Ehrlichman then added, for Nixon's "confidential information," that Ehrlichman would examine "this whole matter of licenses after the election" and would be very interested in Nixon's recommendations. "This has to be handled very discretely by you alone," the memo added, "without talking to anyone else about it."

As Graham wrote in her "Personal History," "Of all the threats to the during Watergate . . . the most effective were the challenges to

the licenses of our two Florida television stations," all filed between Dec. 29, 1972, and Jan. 2, 1973, by groups that included Nixon's chief Florida fund-raiser and the former general counsel of the Committee to Re-Elect the President.

The effort may have begun in earnest on Oct. 27, 1973, the first day of a two-part CBS documentary on Watergate that relied heavily on The Post's coverage and that angered Nixon greatly. "That finishes them [CBS]," he told H.R. Haldeman the next morning. Other records already public show that White House aide Chuck Colson was already busy, asking a staff member on Oct. 27 to "check for me when any of The Washington Post television station licenses are up for renewal."

Where Hillary Rodham Clinton has seen a "right-wing conspiracy" against her husband, Nixon saw the coverage of him and his policies as a left-wing product. After reading a report in the May 16, 1969, issue of the Boston Globe by Robert Healey, asserting that the administration was escalating the fighting in Vietnam, Nixon said in a memo, "Healy, of course, is a doctrinaire leftist."

Weeks later, following a July 6 article in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch by Richard Dudman, calling the prospects of a non-Communist political victory in Vietnam "poor and worsening," the president said, according to another memo released yesterday, that Dudman was "a violent leftist" and that the statements in the article were "completely opposite from the truth."

#### FOR MORE INFORMATION

*For a Watergate chronology that includes many of the key Post stories on the scandal and the investigation, click on the above symbol on the front page of The Post's Web site at [www.washingtonpost.com](http://www.washingtonpost.com)*

tumble job," Annenberg emphasized. "The only way you can do this is to go after the principles [sic] themselves—Kay Graham [publisher of the Washington Post], [Arthur Ochs] Sulzberger [publisher of the New York Times], Otis Chandler [publisher of the Los Angeles Times], Andrew Heiskell [chairman of Time Inc.].

In the headlines at the time were allega-

## Documents

### show Nixon

F.P. 3/20/95  
petty, peeved

WASHINGTON (AP) — Back from a trip to Canada, Richard Nixon was full of complaints: The seating arrangement in the car cramped him and Mrs. Nixon and "I, of course, was totally uncomfortable."

Newly opened Nixon papers at the National Archives that he never expected to be public show that Nixon could be petty and that no detail was too small for his attention.

Having the Marine Corps chamber musicians perform at a White House dinner was "a disaster," Nixon wrote in a memo. "Pat was informed that the Strolling Strings were not available because they were busy that night. ... There should never be an occasion where any service organization is not available whenever we have a function where we have invited them."

And on that subject of music and culture: "Jackie Kennedy received bravos for years because she brought Pablo Casals to the White House to play his cello 40 years after his prime. When we look over the list of people that we have had at the White House they make the (Lyndon) Johnson years appear almost barbaric and the (John F) Kennedy years very thin indeed."

Because he preferred to communicate by memo rather than face-to-

face, historians and analysts got a lode of materials when the government seized Nixon's papers and tapes following his resignation in 1974. So far, about four million of the archives' 44 million pages have been opened.

"Those who boycotted the Joint Session of Congress should be taken off the White House guest list, even if they had been our friends in the past," he told Chief of Staff H. R. Haldeman six weeks after his Jan. 22, 1970, State of the Union address.

In an April 10, 1970, memo, Nixon said he wanted to concentrate on foreign policy for a few weeks and wanted "Mickey Mouse events" limited to "one 10-minute event per day, if possible around noon time."

Nixon could be petty in characterizing those he disagreed with. In a June 15, 1971, discussion on drug policy, he dismissed "soft-headed psychiatrists who work in places like NIMH (National Institute for Mental Health) favor marijuana because they're probably all on the stuff themselves."

Nothing captures Nixon's attention to detail more than his April 17, 1972, memo to Haldeman following the Canadian trip. He was irked that day.

"The situation in Canada was intolerable," Nixon wrote. "Taylor (a Secret Service agent) insisted on sitting on the jump seat where he could have just as easily sat in the front seat because there were only two in the front seat. The jump seats were constructed in such a way that they bent completely back on both Pat (Nixon) and me so that in her case she had to put her legs over on the other side, and I, of course, was totally uncomfortable all the way."